

Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6847

INFO AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 11803

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR PL UR ENRG CSCE

SUBJECT: THE SOVIETS AND PEACEFUL CHANGE IN EUROPE

REF: A) WARSAW 5110, B) PARIS 10870, C) MOSCOW 11115,

D) STATE 180884

1. WE COMPLETELY AGREE WITH EMBASSY WARSAW (REF A) THAT SOVIETS HAVE NO INTENTION OF OPENING UP SUBJECT OF TERRITORIAL CHANGES WITH THE POLES (OR ANY OTHER NEIGHBOR), WITH OR WITHOUT KALININGRAD CITY, FOR OIL OR ANYTHING ELSE. RUMOR CONCERNING TRADE-OFF OF POLISH OIL LANDS FOR LAND IN KALININGRAD OBLAST' HAS APPEARED ONLY ONCE, AND FROM VERY NON-AUTHORITATIVE SOURCE. SUBSEQUENT REPORT THAT POLES SUGGESTED USING POLISH POWER INSTEAD OF KALININGRAD PROJECT (REF B) AND POLAND'S AGREEMENT TO BE THE FIRST EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRY TO BUILD BROAD-GAUGE TRACK TO ACCOMMODATE MOVEMENT OF GOODS TO AND FROM USSR ON ITS TERRITORY, HAVE NO TERRITORIAL IMPLICATIONS THAT WE CAN SEE.

2. WE MENTIONED RUMOR NOT BECAUSE WE GAVE IT ANY CREDENCE, BUT LARGELY TO POINT OUT THAT IT WAS ONLY REPORT IN MEMORY
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OF SOVIETS ACTIVELY CONSIDERING BORDER CHANGES. AND WE

AGREE WITH DEPARTMENT'S JUDGMENT THAT MOST PLAUSIBLE EXPLANATION FOR DMITRIYEV'S ARTICLE IS THAT SOVIETS ARE ENGAGED IN A RECORD-WRITING OPERATION LEADING TOWARD BELGRADE, BUILDING A STOCK OF INTERPRETATIONS ON EVERY MAJOR OR CONTENTIOUS CSCE ISSUE TO FLOURISH THERE (REF D).

3. CONCEIVABLY, IN FACT, SUPPLEMENTARY MOTIVE COULD BE TO BACK POLES (AND OTHERS) AWAY FROM THE KIND OF NOSTALGIC CONCERN FOR LOST RIGHTS AND CURRENT DEPRIVATIONS DESCRIBED BY EMBASSY WARSAW, WHICH SOVIETS WOULD OBVIOUSLY CONSIDER A VERY UNWELCOME, BYPRODUCT OF THE CSCE PROCESS. BY DELIVERING AN INTERPRETATION OF PEACEFUL CHANGE LIMITING IT TO VERY MINOR BORDER ADJUSTMENTS, THE SOVIETS THEREBY WOULD SEEM TO RULE OUT FURTHER "PEACEFUL CHANGES" IN SOVIET-POLISH BOUNDARIES, SINCE, IN ANY DEFINITION, THE SOVIET-POLISH BORDER IN FORMER EAST PRUSSIA CERTAINLY QUALIFIES AS "MAJOR". MATLOCK

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